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INDEPENDENCE

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FOR KOREA

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STATEMENT

Claim for Independence and Freedom  
from Foreign Domination

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Prepared by  
Korean Information Bureau  
and  
The League of the Friends of Korea

HEADQUARTERS  
825 WEIGHTMAN BUILDING  
1524 CHESTNUT STREET  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.



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# Independence for Korea

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## I. LAND AND THE PEOPLE

**Topography.** Korea, the land of Morning Calm, is a country that lies between China, Japan and Russia. It has an area of 84,000 square miles; length 660 miles, an average width of 130 miles, forming a peninsula that divides the Yellow and Japan Seas. It is the bridge that links Japan with the Asiatic mainland.

The coastline is about 1940 miles, varying in its configuration. The principal harbors are Wonsan (Gensan) on the northeast coast, Fusan and Masanpo at the southern end of the peninsula, and Mokpo, Chemulpo, Chinnampo, and Yongampo on the west coast.

There are no mighty streams in Korea. The Yalu, the longest of the Korean rivers, flows from the Pak Tu (White Head) mountain into the Korea Bay in the Yellow Sea, is navigable about sixty miles from the sea, and it forms the boundary between Korea and Manchuria. It has been known as the "Rubicon of the Orient," whose crossing by armies has been the signal for many a war in the past. The Tuman river rises from the same mountain and runs northeasterly and empties into the Gulf of Peter the Great in Japan Sea. It separates Korea from northeastern Manchuria and Siberia.

The climate of Korea is exceedingly fine. The winters are dry, clear and crisp, although the summers are hot. Lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-third parallels of latitude, the climate is that of the north temperate zone, resembling that of Nebraska and Kansas. The average rainfall is about thirty-six inches a year, affording exuberant growth of vegetation of the temperate zone, and making intensive agriculture highly profitable. Korea has always produced more grain than her people could consume, and had, in the past, the least famine of any country in the East.

The country is not less rich in its mineral resources. Gold, silver, tungston, graphite, copper, iron, coal and chalk have been found in Korea, some of them in abundant deposits. The Unsan mine alone, a gold mine controlled by an American firm, within a dozen years after the concession was granted in 1896, produced 1,637,591 tons of ore, valued at \$10,701,157.

**Ethnography.** The origin and classification of the Korean race is more or less a baffling problem to the ethnologists of the world. The Korean scholars themselves are uncertain as to the origin of their ancestors. Racial characteristics of the Malays, the Mongols and the Caucasians are found among the people of Korea.

It will be of interest to note the opinion of the various Western observers on this point. Ethnologist Keene, of Great Britain, maintains that the Korean people were originally of Caucasian stock intermingled with the Mongolian race. Professor Homer B. Hulbert, formerly an American educationalist, after his stay in Korea of over twenty years, says concerning the people: "They are overshadowed by China on the one hand in respect of numbers, and by Japan on the other in respect of wit. They are neither good merchants like the one nor good fighters like the other, and yet they are far more like Anglo-Saxons in temperament than either, and they are by far the pleasantest people in the Far East to live amongst."

It is fairly certain that the aborigines of Korea intermingled with other Asiatic races—the Manchus, the Mongols, the inhabitants of China proper, and the Aryan race of Hindustan. They had formed the racial consciousness and national solidarity of Korea long before the birth of the modern nations in Europe and America.

## II. HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

**History.** The legendary history of Korea dates back to the founding of Korea by Tan-Koon, 2333 B. C. The kingdom was founded in the basin of Sungari River, which is now known as Southern Manchuria. The founding of Fuyu Kingdom by this mythical king of Korea is open to historical criticism, but the coming of the King Kija from China in 1122 B. C. has a record of written history. To this day the inhabitants of Pyng-Yang preserve the tomb of this Chinese sage, who gave them law and civilization, as a sacred shrine, and pilgrims pay annual visits to this Mecca of Korea.

The history of Korea is not a peaceful one; there have been invasions and cross-invasions from China and Japan, such as the conquest of Korea by Gangis-Khan in 1218, and the Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi in 1592. But sooner or later Korea succeeded in driving out foreign invasions and maintained the country free and independent.

The Yi dynasty, which ended August 29th, 1910, was founded by Yi Taijo in 1392. He was the commanding officer of the Korean army, sent out to invade China. But the ambitious general turned his forces against his ruler, thereby usurping the Korean throne. He promptly formed an alliance with China, recognizing the nominal suzerainty of the latter in order to secure the friendship and support of the Chinese Emperor. From then on Korea maintained a nominal relation of vassalage to her



bigger neighbor. but she made treaties with other nations and administered her own laws independent of China.

Korea made her first treaty with Japan in 1876, the first article of which reads: "Cho-sen, being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan." The Korean-American treaty was made in 1882; the treaty between Korea and Great Britain was made in 1883; one with Germany in the same year; with Italy in 1884; with France in 1886. All these treaties with the leading Western Powers were made and executed before China recognized the complete independence of Korea in 1895, when the King of Korea assumed the title of an emperor.

In 1882 the King of Korea wrote to the President of the United States saying, "Now as the governments of the United States and Korea are about to enter into treaty relations, the intercourse between the two nations shall be carried on in every respect on terms of equality and courtesy, and the King of Korea clearly assents that all of the articles shall be acknowledged and carried into effect according to the laws of independent states."

Thus it is clear that Korea had always maintained her independence and national entity during the forty centuries of her history until the protectorate was forced upon her by Japan in 1905 and subsequently annexed to the Japanese Empire in 1910.

**Civilization.** Korea, during the dynasty of Tan-Koon, seems to have developed a degree of civilization rarely found among primitive people, such as the art of writing, cultivation of soil and domestication of animals. But this civilization was overwhelmed by that of the Chinese brought over by Kija, 1122 B. C. This Chinese noble introduced a new written language—Chinese idiographs, established a stable government, enacted wise laws, and developed in general a civilization that was even higher than that which prevailed in China at that time.

"In the days of Samuel," says a Western writer, "prophet of Israel, and Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, 500 years before Nabopolassar, founded the Chaldean dynasty, while Athens was an obscure village, Rome was yet unheard of, and Europe was a wilderness inhabited only by savage tribes, this cultivated Chinese noble is said to have laid the foundations of social order in Northern Korea. His colossal figure dominates the early history of Korea much as Abraham dominates that of the Hebrews."

During the period of Sila dynasty, people imbibed much of the Hindu civilization through Buddhism, which was then the prevailing religion of the peninsula. They cultivated the arts; built walls around their cities; fortified strategic points; used horses, oxen, and wagons; made silk; smelted ore, manufactured iron; and traded with other kingdoms. Koradadbeh, an Arab geographer of the 9th century, describes the Koreans as having made nails, and states they rode on saddles, wore silk, and manufactured porcelain. Again, quoting a Western writer: "Japanese records show that the Japanese themselves first learned from Koreans the cul-

tivation of the silk worm, the weaving of cloth, architecture, the printing of books, the painting of pictures, the beautifying of gardens, the making of leather harness, and the shaping of more effective weapons. . . . Whereas the Chinese invented the art of printing from movable wooden blocks, the Koreans invented metal type in 1403. They used a phonetic alphabet in the early part of the 15th century. They saw the significance of the mariner's compass in 1525. They devised, in 1550, an astronomical instrument which they very properly called 'a heavenly measurer.' Money was used as a medium of exchange in Korea long before it was employed in Northern Europe. They used cannon and explosive shells when the Japanese invaded in 1592. The first iron clad war ship in the world was invented by a Korean, Admiral Yi-Sun-Sin, in the 16th century. He called it the *Tortoise Boat*, and he commanded it with such effectiveness against the Japanese that it was largely instrumental in defeating the fleet of Hideyoshi. . . .

"While the Japanese proved themselves to be stronger in war, they were deeply influenced by the Koreans in religion and the arts of peace. Korea gave Buddhism to Japan in 552 A. D. . . . Many people praise the Japanese for their exquisite Satsuma ware without knowing that the Koreans long ago taught the Japanese the art of its manufacture."\*

Co-operative associations for business enterprise and insurance companies for mutual protection in the form of various guilds were known in Korea from time immemorial. A paragraph from the pen of Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop on the Korean *Kyei* (guild) is illuminating:

"The faculty of combination, by which in Korea as in China the weak find some measure of protection against the strong, is being turned to useful account. This *Kyei*, or principle of association, which represents one of the most noteworthy features of Korea, develops into insurance companies, mutual benefit associations, money-lending syndicates, tontines, marriage and burial clubs, great trading guilds, and many others.

"With its innumerable associations, only a few of which I have alluded to, Korean life is singularly complete, and the Korean business world is far more fully organized than ours, nearly all the traders in the country being members of guilds, powerfully bound together, and having the common feature of mutual helpfulness in time of need. This habit of united action, and the measure of honesty which is essential to the success of combined undertakings, supply the framework on which various joint-stock companies are being erected, among which one of the most important is a tannery."†

William Elliot Griffis, a profound American scholar on Oriental history and civilization, writes as follows on the educational system of Korea:

"She fosters education by making scholastic

\*A. J. Brown. *The Mastery of the Pacific*, Pp. 53-54.

†Isabella Bird Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, Pp. 440-41.

ability, as tested in the literary examination, the basis of appointment to office. This 'Civil Service Reform' was established in Cho-sen by the now ruling dynasty early in the fifteenth century. Education in Korea is public, and encouraged by the government only in this sense, that it is made the road to government employ and official promotion. By instituting literary examinations for the civil and military service, and nominally opening them to all competitors, and filling all vacancies with the successful candidates, there is created and maintained a constant stimulus to culture.‡

"Indeed, the Korean civilization which the Westerners found when Korea was first opened to Western intercourse was decidedly lower than what it had been. This, of course, does not mean that Korea was decadent. The history of Italy, Greece, and Egypt, shows that the civilization of a people has its ebb and flow. *The potential genius of the present-day Korean is awakening under the guiding influence of western culture and Christian democracy. That is the spirit of the new Korea.*"

### III. KOREA UNDER JAPAN

**Treaty Making and Treaty Breaking.** At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, Japan declared to the world that she was fighting to preserve the political independence and territorial integrity of Korea. She gave Korea her definite pledge to this effect. Thus, Article III, of the Korean-Japanese Treaty, of February 23, 1904, reads: "*The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.*" The Korean Government implicitly trusted this pledge of the Japanese government and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Japan against Russia. By the virtue of this treaty, Japan was given the control of postal and telegraph communications in Korea to facilitate her military operations. But no sooner had Japan won the war than she broke her solemn treaty obligations to Korea and her declaration to the world by taking Korea at the point of the bayonet. The following is an account of treaty making and treaty breaking in *Japanese Diplomacy and Force in Korea*, by Arthur MacLennan, published by the Korean National Association, May, 1919:

The treaty between Japan and Korea, signed November 17, 1905, speaks for itself as a document which gave notice to the world that the sovereignty of Korea had passed and that the country had become a Japanese state. The manner of making the treaty, however, furnishes the indisputable evidence of the imperialistic intentions of Japan toward Korea and the reasons for her established protectorate.

Early in November of 1907, Marquis Ito arrived in Seoul as a special envoy from the Emperor of Japan, presenting a series of demands, drawn in treaty form. By the demands Korea was to surrender her independence as a nation, and was to give control of her internal administration to the Japanese.

The Emperor and his cabinet ministers were aghast, but they remained firm in their refusal to agree to the

demands. After hours of persuasive argument on the part of the Japanese envoy that the treaty should be immediately signed to assure the peace of the East, the Emperor spoke:

"Assent to your proposals would mean the ruin of my country, and I will therefore sooner die than agree to them."

The ministers also held out until the Japanese suggested an immediate cabinet meeting at the palace, in the presence of the Emperor. This was on the afternoon of November 17, 1905.

F. A. McKenzie, the British journalist and authority on Eastern political subjects, who was in Korea at this time, gives the following chronicle of the ill-fated cabinet meeting of that November afternoon:

"All this time the Japanese Army had been making a great display of military force around the palace. All the Japanese troops in the district had been for days parading the streets and open places fronting the imperial residence. The field guns were out, and the men were fully armed. They marched, counter-marched, stormed, made feint attacks, occupied the gates, put their guns in position, and did everything short of actual violence that they could to demonstrate to the Koreans that they were able to enforce their demands.

"To the cabinet ministers themselves, and to the Emperor, all this display had a sinister and terrible meaning. They could not forget the night in 1895, when Japanese soldiers had paraded around another palace, and when their picked bullies had forced their way inside and murdered the Queen. Japan had done this before; why should she not do it again? Not one of those resisting the will of Dai Nippon but saw the sword in front of his eyes, and heard in imagination a hundred times during the day the rattle of Japanese bullets.

"That evening, Japanese soldiers, with fixed bayonets, entered the courtyard of the palace and stood near the apartment of the Emperor. Marquis Ito now arrived, accompanied by General Hasegawa, commander of the Japanese Army in Korea, and a fresh attack was started on the cabinet ministers.

"The Marquis demanded an audience of the Emperor. The Emperor refused to grant it, saying that his throat was very bad, and he was in great pain. The Marquis then made his way into the Emperor's presence and personally requested an audience. The Emperor still refused. 'Please go away and discuss the matter with the cabinet ministers,' he said.

"Thereupon Marquis Ito went outside to the ministers. 'Your Emperor has commanded you to confer with me and settle this matter,' he declared.

"A fresh conference was opened. The presence of the soldiers, the gleaming of the bayonets outside, the harsh words of command that could be heard through the windows of the palace buildings were not without their effect.

"The ministers had fought for days and they had fought alone. No single foreign representative had offered them help or counsel. They saw submission or destruction before them. Signs of yielding began to appear.

"The acting prime minister, Han Kew Sul, jumped to his feet and said he would go and tell the Emperor of the talk of traitors. Han Kew Sul was gripped by the Japanese Secretary of the Legation, thrown into a side room and threatened with death. Even Marquis Ito went out to him to persuade him. 'Would you not yield,' the Marquis said, 'if your Emperor commanded you?' 'No,' said Han Kew Sul, 'not even then.'

"This was enough. The Marquis at once went to the Emperor. 'Han Kew Sul is a traitor,' he said. 'He defies you, and declares that he will not obey your commands.'

"Meanwhile, the remaining cabinet ministers waited in the cabinet chamber. Where was their leader, the man who had urged them all to resist to the death? Minute after minute passed, and still he did not return.

‡William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, P. 339.



Then a whisper went around that the Japanese had killed him. The harsh voices of the Japanese grew still more strident. Courtesy and restraint were thrown off. 'Agree with us and be rich; or oppose us and perish.'

"Pak Che Sun, one of the Korean statesmen, was the last to yield. But even he finally gave way.

"In the early hours of the morning commands were issued that the seal of State should be brought from the Foreign Minister's apartment, and a treaty should be signed. Here another difficulty arose. The custodian of the seal had received orders in advance that, even if his master commanded, the seal was not to be surrendered for any such purpose. When telephonic orders were sent to him, he refused to bring the seal along, and special messengers had to be dispatched to take it from him by force.

"The Emperor himself asserts to this day that he did not consent."

A native newspaper of Seoul, the "Whang Sung Shinmun," printed a true account of what had taken place. The paper was immediately suppressed and its editor thrown into prison, but in its last issue it voiced the wail of Korea, when the signing of the treaty became known, with this closing paragraph:

"Is it worth while for any of us to live any longer? Our people have become the slaves of others, and the spirit of a nation which has stood for 4000 years, since the days of Tan Kun and Ke-ja, has perished in a single night. Alas! fellow-countrymen. Alas!"

Here is the treaty:

The Japanese and Korean Governments, being desirous of strengthening the identity of interests which unite the two empires, have, with the same end in view, agreed upon the following articles, which will remain binding until the power and prosperity of Korea are recognized as having been fully established:

I. The Japanese Government, through the Foreign Office at Tokyo, will henceforward take control and direct the foreign relations and affairs of Korea, and Japanese diplomatic representatives and Consuls will protect the subjects and interests of Korea abroad.

II. The Japanese Government will take upon itself the duty of carrying out the existing treaties between Korea and foreign countries, and the Korean Government binds itself not to negotiate any treaty or agreement of a diplomatic nature without the intermediary of the Japanese Government.

III. (a) The Japanese Government will appoint under His Majesty the Emperor of Korea a Resident-General as its representative, who will remain in Seoul chiefly to administer diplomatic affairs, with the prerogative of having private audience with His Majesty the Emperor of Korea.

(b) The Japanese Government is entitled to appoint a Resident to every Korean open port and other places where the presence of such Resident is considered necessary. These Residents, under the supervision of the Resident-General, will administer all the duties hitherto appertaining to Japanese Consulates in Korea and all other affairs necessary for the satisfactory fulfillment of the provisions of this treaty.

IV. All the existing treaties and agreements between Japan and Korea, within limits not prejudicial to the provisions of this treaty, will remain in force.

V. The Japanese Government guarantees to maintain the security and respect the dignity of the Korean Imperial House.

Petitions, lamentations, suicides in the way of protest, and fighting against the Japanese military by the unarmed Korean populace carried no effect. Japan had the invincible argument,—force. At the

time of The Hague Conference in 1907, the Korean Emperor sent his envoys there to appeal to the Powers for the restoration of the independence of Korea. The envoys failed in securing a hearing, but that instance furnished an ample excuse to the Japanese authorities in Korea to complete their iron rule. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Emperor to resign in favor of his son, a mental incompetent. At the same time a treaty was signed between the Korean cabinet ministers, who were holding their offices as the tools of the Japanese Government, and Marquis Ito, then the Resident-General in Korea. The text follows:

The Government of Japan and the Government of Korea, desiring to attain the speedy development of the strength and resources of Korea and to promote the welfare of her people, have with that object in view agreed upon the following stipulations:

#### ARTICLE I.

The Government of Korea shall act under the guidance of the Resident-General in respect to reforms in administration.

#### ARTICLE II.

The Government of Korea engages not to enact any laws, ordinances or regulations, or to take any important measures of administration, without the previous assent of the Resident-General.

#### ARTICLE III.

The judicial affairs in Korea shall be set apart from the affairs of ordinary administration.

#### ARTICLE IV.

The appointment and dismissal of all high officials in Korea shall be made upon the concurrence of the Resident-General.

#### ARTICLE V.

The Government of Korea shall appoint as Korean officials the Japanese subjects recommended by the Resident-General.

#### ARTICLE VI.

The Government of Korea shall not engage any foreigner without the concurrence of the Resident-General.

#### ARTICLE VII.

Article I. of the Protocol between Japan and Korea signed on the 22nd of August, 1905, shall hereafter cease to be binding.

In witness whereof the Undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO (Seal)

H. I. J. M.'s Resident-General.

The 24th day of the 7th month of the 40th year of Meiji.

YI WAN-YONG (Seal)

Minister President of State.

The 24th day of the 7th month of the 11th year of Kwang-mu.

At the time of the establishment of the Protectorate over Korea, the Japanese Government assured the outside world as well as the Korean people that the Protectorate was more or less a temporary measure to better insure the peace in the Orient until the Korean government should be more stabilized. But now Japan went so far as to break even this promise. Korea was annexed in 1910, and made a province of Japan. The so-called "treaty" of annexation follows:



#### ARTICLE I.

The Emperor of Korea to make complete and permanent cession to the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.

#### ARTICLE II.

The Emperor of Japan to accept the above-mentioned cession and to consent to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.

#### ARTICLE III.

The Emperor of Japan to accord to the Emperor of Korea, ex-Emperor and Crown Prince of Korea and their Consorts such titles, dignities and honors as are appropriate to their respective ranks, and sufficient annual grants to be made for the maintenance of such titles, dignities and honours.

#### ARTICLE IV.

The relatives of the Emperor of Korea also to receive due dignities, titles, honours and solatia.

#### ARTICLE V.

The Emperor of Japan to confer peerages and monetary grants upon Koreans who, on account of meritorious services, are regarded as deserving such special recognition.

#### ARTICLE VI.

In consequence of the aforesaid Annexation, the Government of Japan will assume the entire government and administration of *Chosen* and undertake to afford full protection for the life and property of Koreans obeying the laws in force, and to promote the welfare of all such.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The Government of Japan, so far as circumstances permit, will employ in the public service of Japan Koreans who accept the new *regime* loyally and in good faith and who are duly qualified for such service.

It must be remembered that all these "treaties" are signed by a cabinet officer who was a tool of the Japanese Government, and the Koreans themselves had nothing to say, either one way or the other. The following is a description of the Japanese rule in Korea by an American born in Korea:

Japan's occupation of Korea during the war and following her virtual annexation was attended with cruelty, oppression and violence, which can only be compared to the conduct of Germany in Belgium. It was a common sight to see helpless women insulted by soldiers or innocent Koreans assaulted in the streets by Japanese. Theft, treachery and confiscation were the order of the day. Turned out of house and home, beaten, outraged, killed, deprived of the very means of livelihood—words are not available to describe the plight of the people under conditions of which the writer was a witness.

In the summer of 1907, in response to the uprising of a few patriots, the Japanese policy culminated in a campaign which a writer traveling in the country at the time declared to be "one of the most cruel and odious campaigns ever conducted in this generation in the name of civilization." Innocent people were slaughtered wholesale, scores of villages completely demolished, women outraged, wounded and bayoneted, and children shot, simply because the rebels had fought near their homes.

Japanese rule in the peninsula then settled into that of a military regime which continued to subject the people to oppression and violence. Men were thrown into jail and tortured on trumped-up charges. Innocent men were banished or sentenced to years at penal servitude, churches were entered and meetings broken up, with no reason whatsoever. There was little guarantee to the Korean for life, liberty or prosperity, and

still less for justice. With land, fisheries, trade, banks and, in short, all the facilities for livelihood in the hands of their conquerors, the already impoverished people were forced to make a harder fight than ever for an existence.

Under the civil rule of Marquis Ito, it is true, the Koreans had enjoyed a brief respite, but under the again predominantly military policy of Terauchi, which following the assassination of Prince Ito, the Koreans were subjected to a regime which can only be characterized to a reign of terror. In 1912 the church became the special victim of an unusually ferocious outburst. In different parts of the country large numbers of Korean pastors and Christian leaders were arrested and subjected to terrible tortures, while the churches and Christians at large were kept in a constant ferment by the indignities and the show of frightfulness which the Japanese gendarmerie continually brandished over them. The famous Conspiracy Case, in which some one hundred and twenty Christian leaders were tried on the ludicrous charge of conspiring to take the life of the Governor-General, attracted the attention of the world. The frightful treatment accorded these men is common information. The skill with which Japan covered up the outburst of indignation which ensued and succeeded in soon reassuring the world that the purpose of Japan was benevolent and that the Koreans were immeasurably better off under Japanese rule than they ever had been before is amazing. All the above facts are known.

Now let us glance at the unknown facts of that policy by which Japan has aimed to cow the Koreans, to reduce them to the serfdom of a people which may only serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water, to amalgamate, absorb, to utterly swallow up everything that is distinctively Korean. These facts have been compiled from the statements of men of indisputable veracity, who have recently returned from Korea.

1. A veil of secrecy has been drawn over the inner condition of the Korean people. By isolating Korea from the world; by forbidding Koreans to leave the country; by instigating a rigid censorship; by turning over visitors and tourists to pro-Japanese residents or Japanese of prominence, to be toasted and feted and decorated; by sending out to the libraries of the world and to great men propaganda reports and literature, in which the material reforms of Korea were constantly held up and the true conditions of the people misrepresented, the Japanese have succeeded in making the world believe that, whatever mistakes may have been previously made, the present condition is ideal and the Koreans reconciled to Japanese rule.

2. A rigid spy system has been inaugurated. Everyone must be registered and is given a number, which is known to the police. Every time he leaves his village or town he must register at the police station and state fully the business he intends to transact and his destination. The police phone to this place and if his actions are in any way at variance with his report he is liable to arrest and mistreatment. A strict classification is kept on the basis of a man's education, influence, position, etc. As soon as a man begins to show ability or qualities of leadership he is put in class "A," detectives are put on his trail, and from thenceforth he becomes a marked man, hounded wherever he goes. Even children are watched or bribed for information. If a man escapes the country his number is traced, his family or relatives arrested and perchance tortured until they reveal his whereabouts. A man is likely to disappear any day and perhaps not be heard of again. It is a very efficient Prussianism which thus aims to crush the spirit of a people.

3. This policy is carried out in the educational system by forbidding the teaching of Korean history or geography; by permitting only teachers who can speak Japanese, only text-books published by the Japanese Government, only branches of instruction which are utilitarian and do not develop mental scope or power; by excluding all European history or literature or any subject in fact, which might lead to such a personal

culture; by discouraging and practically depriving Korean students of the right of higher education; by forbidding any Korean student to go abroad for an education; in fact, by forbidding them to leave the country; by ordering the worship of the Emperor's tablet and picture; by compelling them to celebrate Japanese holidays and prodding them into demonstrations of Japanese patriotism; by forbidding them to entertain or express Korean ideas or aspirations. One student was put in jail for three months and fined three hundred dollars because he was caught singing the Korean national anthem. If there is any right sacred to the human heart, it is that of freedom of thought and education. Can we blame a people subjected to this mental and spiritual slavery for arising and appealing to the world for self-determination?

4. This policy is carried out in religion by forbidding pastors to preach without a license from the Japanese Government; by forbidding any religious meeting or gathering to be held without a special permit; by forbidding the teaching of the Bible, even in many mission schools; by forcing students in the government schools to work on Sunday; by forcing Koreans to clean their houses and yards on Sunday, so that the Christians will be compelled to break the Sabbath; by commanding all to bow to the Emperor's portrait; by having detectives in every church service, who arrest pastors for showing emotion or using strong expressions in their sermons or being too earnest in their prayers. This repression has gone to such limits that one pastor was arrested for preaching on the Kingdom of God instead of the Kingdom of Japan. At one time the hymn, "I Am an Ambassador for the King," was suppressed because it contained seditious sentiments. Propaganda has even been known to have been instituted to undermine the faith of the Christians. The Japanese fear and dislike Christianity in Korea because it contains the seeds of liberty and democracy, and hence this repression and this oppression, which makes the church the victim of so unjust a surveillance and makes Christian leaders constantly liable to arrest, banishment or even worse fates.

5. This policy is carried out in the social sphere by undermining the public morality. Shortly after annexation the Japanese Government permitted Japanese Agents to travel thru the country selling morphia and developing the morphia habit among the Koreans. Then came the prostitutes. Today there are thousands of prostitutes brought over from Japan, who are innoculating Korean society with those terrible evils of social vice for which Japan as a race is almost proverbial. There are the public baths which the Japanese have instituted, where bathing is promiscuous. To Korean modesty and Korean standards of virtue this is a serious menace and will have on the growing generation far-reaching consequences. Between prostitution, public baths and gambling old Korean ideals stand in great peril.

6. This policy is carried out in civic life in many ways. Everywhere there is suppression and repression. No gatherings of any kind, social or otherwise, where more than five people are to be present, can be held without special permits. Practically all Korean publications of any kind are suppressed. A Korean who dares to breathe ideas which show independence of thought or initiative is courting a dark fate, and no Korean may hope to hold high office. Economically the Korean is reduced to an industrial serfdom, as all rights to develop the resources of his country are given to Japanese, and such preferential treatment is accorded the Japanese merchant that it is a hopeless battle for the Korean tradesman. Exploitation is still common. People are not uncommonly forced to work on railroads or public roads without pay, being told that the roads are being built for their use and therefore their work should be voluntary. Justice is still a by-word, and the wrongs suffered by Koreans in the courts, where they are said to be judged by a far more harsh system of laws than the Japanese, is a heart-

rending tale. Abuse and violent treatment is still not uncommon, and especially is this said to be true in the small towns and villages, where the Japanese police has the life and liberty of every Korean in his hand and where he can exploit and abuse the humble country folk without arousing attention.

In the third place, then, Korea's present condition under Japan is insufferable. A journalist recently in Korea has described Japan's policy there at present as characterized by force rather than persuasion, by repression, by an "official terrorism which covers up abuses and ruthlessly represses public opinion or free expression of discontent," as one which rules over "a subject population, deprived of primary civil and political rights, unable to express disapproval, repressed and silent." And this is a very mild statement of a situation which in reality is far worse. Exploited, hounded, oppressed, deprived of the most sacred rights, without freedom of thought or expression or religion, deprived of almost every channel of self-development and self-assertion, deprived of many of the means of subsistence, reduced to industrial as well as political serfdom, liable to imprisonment or banishment or worse fates, compelled to see their children educated in a manner that is in accord neither with their wills nor their consciences, their young men subjected to corrupting and morally perilous influences, constantly subjected to the painful consciousness that they are a subject race, contemned and despised by their conquerors—is it any wonder that Korea is seeking the right of self-determination?\*

#### IV. ASPIRATIONS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE

Ever since Korea lost her identity as a nation the people have never considered themselves subjects of Japan. Although the government regulations do not allow the children to study the language of their fathers in the schools, they gather in groups after school to study the Korean language secretly. Over a million and a half Koreans have emigrated, since the Japanese occupation of the peninsula, into China and Siberia to escape the military rule and economic exploitation of their conquerors. These Koreans, in strange lands, organized themselves into communities, had their own local governments, and refused in so far as it was possible to be controlled by Japanese Consuls.

An incident which happened in California a few years ago may be cited as an illustration of this independent attitude of the Koreans outside of Korea:

In the summer of 1913 eleven Korean laborers were employed as fruit pickers to work in Riverside county, California. Alighting from a train at the station of Hemet, they were met by white laborers of the district, who forced them to leave by the first returning train.

The affair came to the attention of the Japanese Consul-General in San Francisco and he immediately made representations to the State Department in behalf of the Japanese Government, demanding indemnity for the treatment accorded the Koreans.

This was at a time when a discussion of the proposed California land law occupied the attention of the statesmen.

A report of the affair also reached the Korean National Association, of which the Rev. David Lee was president. From Dr. Lee's offices in San Francisco the following telegram was sent to Washington:

\*J. E. Moore, *Korea's Appeal for Self-Determination*, pp. 7-14, published by the Korean National Association, April, 1919.



"To the Honorable William Jennings Bryan,  
Secretary of State:

"I have the honor to inform you of the recent expulsion of Korean laborers from Hemet, California, and to address you concerning the Japanese Consulate-General's demand for indemnity. We, the Koreans in America, are not Japanese subjects, for we left Korea before the annexation of Korea by Japan, and we will never submit to her as long as the sun remains in the heavens.

"The intervention of the Japanese Consulate-General in Korean matters is illegal, so I have the honor of requesting you to discontinue the discussion of this case with the Japanese Government representatives. If there is any financial question between the Koreans and the persons who expelled our laborers, we will settle it without Japanese interference.

"Yours most respectfully,

(Signed) DAVID LEE,

"President, Korean National Association of North America, June 30, 1913."

That the American Government took the same view of the status of Korean nationals in this country as did the Korean leaders is evidenced by the following news dispatch sent out from Washington the day following the receipt of Dr. Lee's telegram.

"WASHINGTON, July 1.—Investigation by agents of the State Department of the recent expulsion of several Korean fruit pickers from Hemet, Calif., was ordered discontinued today and the incident is considered closed.

"Secretary Bryan, who had ordered the inquiry on his own initiative, particularly on account of the pending negotiations between the United States and Japan over the California alien land legislation, received a telegram from David Lee, president of the Korean National Association, informing him that the Koreans involved were not Japanese subjects because they had left their native land before it was annexed by Japan."

This fact alone is proof that the Koreans never have submitted to Japanese sovereignty.<sup>1</sup>

In 1911 "The Governor-General, Viscount Teruchi, instituted what is known in the church annals of Korea as the Persecution of the Church. Prominent church men, leaders in Korean thought and education, were charged with conspiracy and put in prison. Prominent American missionaries were brought in the trial as being connected with the conspiracy to assassinate the Governor-General of Korea. Here, however, the Japanese overstepped themselves. Their charges against the Korean church aroused considerable criticism in the West, and when they saw that their attempt was producing a reaction they stopped the persecution of the Korean Christians and satisfied themselves in limiting the activities of the church."

The World War and the principle of Self-Determination as it has been pronounced by President Wilson, fanned the smouldering nationalism of the Korean people into a blaze. On March 1st, 1919, two days prior to the funeral of the deceased Emperor Yi, Koreans all over the peninsula proclaimed their independence and put up what they considered passive resistance to the Japanese rule. They selected this date because it was the first occasion since Japan occupied the country that the Japanese authorities permitted the gathering of the Koreans in groups. The Independence Proclamation follows:

## THE PROCLAMATION OF KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

We, the representatives of 20,000,000 united people of Korea, hereby proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. This Proclamation stands in witness to the equality of all nations, and we pass it on to our posterity as their inalienable right.

With 5000 years of history behind us, we take this step to insure to our children forever personal liberty in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God and the right of every nation. Our desire for liberty cannot be crushed or destroyed.

After an independent civilization of several thousand years, we have experienced the agony for fourteen years of foreign oppression which has denied to us freedom of thought, and made it impossible for us to share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

To assure us and our children freedom from future oppression, and to be able to give full scope to our national aspirations, as well as to secure blessing and happiness for all time, we regard as the first imperative the regaining of our national independence.

We entertain no spirit of vengeance towards Japan, but our urgent need today is to redeem and rebuild our ruined nation, and not to discuss who has caused Korea's downfall.

Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, which is now dominated by the old idea of brute force, so that it will change and act in accordance with the principles of justice and truth.

The result of the enforced annexation of Korea by Japan is that every possible discrimination in education, commerce and other spheres of life has been practiced against us most cruelly. Unless remedied, the continued wrong will but intensify the resentment of the 20,000,000 Korean people, and make the Far East a constant menace to the peace of the world.

We are conscious that Korea's independence will mean not only wellbeing and happiness for our race, but also happiness and integrity for the 400,000,000 people of China, and make Japan the leader of the Orient, instead of the conqueror she is at the present time.

A new era awakes before our eyes, for the old world of force has gone, and out of the travail of the past a new world of righteousness and truth has been born.

We desire a full measure of satisfaction in liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In this hope we go forward.

### WE PLEDGE THE FOLLOWING:

1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, justice and life, and is undertaken at the request of our people to make known their desire for liberty. Let there be no violence.

2. Let those who follow us show every hour with gladness this same spirit.



3. Let all things be done with singleness of purpose so that our behaviour to the end may be honorable and upright.

The 4252 year of the Kingdom of Korea, 3d month, 1st day.

Representatives of the people;

The signatures attached to the document.

This proclamation was read in practically every large city in the country on the same day—March 1. It was surprisingly well planned and executed despite the surveillance of the Japanese police. V. M. McClatchey, editor of the Sacramento Bee, who was in Seoul during the first week of March, gives his impression of the demonstration as follows:

#### **"GREATEST EXAMPLE IN WORLD HISTORY OF ORGANIZED PASSIVE RESISTANCE FOR AN IDEAL"**

Suddenly on the Saturday preceding the funeral, March 1, at 2 P. M., without warning or hint to the foreign population and without suspicion evidently on the part of the Japanese ruler, there was inaugurated in every large city of Korea on behalf of its 20,000,000 subject people a peaceful demonstration and demand for national independence. This demonstration continued in various forms throughout the Korean peninsula up to the date of our departure from Yokohama March 17. Since that time the veil which conceals or distorts happenings in the Far East has dropped for us as it has for all Westerners.

In Seoul the demonstration consisted of a reading of the proclamation in a public park; of the rushing of many thousands of white-robed Koreans down the wide main street, shouting "Mansei," the Korean equivalent to the Japanese "Banzai"; exhortations to the students of the various schools to join in the demonstration and to maintain a peaceful agitation until they secured national freedom and an attempt to enter the palace gates and present a petition to young Prince Yi, etc.

The police and gendarmes could not stop the crowd at first, but soldiers were called out and clubbed muskets and swords were used effectively, over 150 prisoners being taken to jail that afternoon, some of them rather severely injured. Somewhat similar demonstrations were made on Monday and on Wednesday, but they did not last long, the Japanese being prepared, and several hundred demonstrators being made prisoners, among them some girl students. The demonstrations in other cities took on a similar character.

There was always more or less severity attached to these arrests. Eye-witnesses have told me of girl students being set upon by Japanese coolies with clubs and stamped upon and being marched off by gendarmes with thongs about their necks and tied together in couples by their thumbs. Up to the time we left Seoul, March 6, firearms had not been used by the Japanese in that city—so far as I could learn; and while there were numerous injuries from clubs, clubbed muskets and swords, no Koreans had been killed.

The astonishing thing about the demonstration was that under the terms of the proclamation and exhortation of the leaders no injury was done to property and no violence attempted by Koreans even in retaliation for what seem unnecessary brutality on the part of the gendarmes and soldiers in making arrests. This is the more astonishing when the temperamental character of the Koreans is had in mind and their inclination to frenzy in mob formation, which, in the early days of the hermit kingdom, caused the death of several missionaries, who were torn to pieces by Korean hands and teeth.

The vernacular press of Japan, during the first week of the demonstration, was filled with accounts from several special correspondents declaring that in Seoul and elsewhere throughout the peninsula the Koreans

had attacked, injured and even killed gendarmes, police and soldiers and injured property. Up to the morning of March 6, when we left Seoul, I am confident no such thing occurred in that city; and I have reason to believe it did not occur elsewhere. The most conclusive evidence on this point is the interview published in the Japan "Advertiser" by the Japanese Minister of Communications, Noda, who with other high officials of the government went to Seoul to attend the funeral of the former Emperor Yi. Noda did not leave Seoul until March 5 and his interview, published on his return to Tokyo, declared that the Koreans had not committed acts of violence or injured property either in Seoul or anywhere else in Korea.

On the morning on which we left Seoul, five days after the demonstration commenced, there appeared on posts and walls a second proclamation from the Korean leaders, though unsigned, in which the people were congratulated on the manner in which they had testified to Japan and to the world their desire to be free and on the self-control and forbearance with which they had endured injury and arrest. They were reminded that as Koreans they must stand up for the sacred cause to the last man, and they were cautioned again to do no violence and no injury to property. "He who does this," the proclamation said, "is an enemy to his country and will most seriously injure the cause." The free translation of the document was given me while waiting for a train by a missionary who had seen a copy of it. It is not unlikely that in the country districts the Koreans later may have been incited to retaliation by the methods of their rulers. The vernacular press of Japan for a few days gave increased circumstantial accounts of death or injury to single members of local gendarmerie, coupled usually with the significant statement in each case that the "casualties" among the Koreans amounted to 40 or 60, as the case might be. According to these accounts, the Japanese in outside districts were, in some instances, using firearms. The Koreans could secure no weapons unless clubs or stones, but these accounts had practically ceased when we sailed for California.

Meanwhile, the Koreans had carried on the policy of passive resistance by closing up all the schools—the Korean children having ceased to attend, and by ceasing work in the various public utility and manufacturing enterprises.

The government had made arrests of about 4000 agitators, and the trials of these Koreans, it was officially declared, would be commenced towards the end of March after the "examinations" had been completed. Preliminary examinations preceding trial at the time of the Korean conspiracy cases some years ago meant injury by torture under which the helpless victim confessed to anything with which he was charged. In those conspiracy cases 106 prisoners thus confessed full guilt and were sentenced on trial to punishment accordingly. The world having received an inkling of these facts, and the American and British ministers, it is whispered, having suggested to the Japanese government the propriety of further investigation, a second trial was ordered and 98 out of the 106 were adjudged innocent and discharged. Among them was one who was in prison at the time the offense with which he was charged was committed.

I met in Korea Americans who had seen scars inflicted by torture on some of these Koreans."

J. A. Armstrong, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, was in Seoul as late as March 17th. His description follows:

"During those two days in Seoul I saw, read, and learned much about the Korean revolution for independence. (I spent three months in Korea in the latter half of 1918 and was therefore somewhat informed as to the conditions which made the people dissatisfied with Japanese rule). The 'adequate reason' was that

the missionaries desired that as a missionary secretary was about to leave for North America, I should know the facts about the movement. Press dispatches are both meagre and inaccurate, a fact which should be kept in mind when reading what may come over the cables to our papers. It is unwise for any one in Korea to send any facts through the mails because of censorship. Only by travelers can the truth reach the outside world, even Japan itself.

What I learned roused my indignation and sympathy—indignation at the cruel treatment given the Koreans by Japanese police and soldiers, sympathy for an oppressed and defenseless people crying out for justice. I hope to prepare a fuller statement later, and shall, therefore, set down here only a few points which should be noted.

1. Missionaries and other foreigners in Korea were as ignorant about the plans of the Koreans as the Japanese themselves. The civil authorities acknowledge this, but the military and the Japanese press in Japan charge the missionaries with instigating the uprising.

2. It did not originate in mission schools, as alleged, though they are in it, as Government schools are.

3. Foreigners marvel at the ability and thoroughness with which the Koreans organized and are carrying on the campaign. Even the oldest British and American citizens had no idea that the Koreans were capable of planning and conducting such a widespread rebellion.

4. Their methods are those of passive resistance, that no violence be used nor resistance offered to arrest. They, even schoolgirls, go to prison singing, cheering and shouting "Mansei" (Japanese Banzai, lit., 10,000 times 10,000 years). This cry, or as it is sometimes expressed "Tongnip Mansei" (independence forever), has united the whole nation.

5. The police are baffled in their efforts to find the leaders. Though they arrested the thirty-three signers of the original manifesto, yet the program continues, and the committee is unknown. When a Korean pastor was asked by an official who was behind the movement, he replied, "God Almighty!" When asked who were with Him, he said, "Twenty million Koreans."

6. Thirty missionaries gathered in Seoul, March 6, that I might hear the situation discussed. They agreed in designating the Japanese military and police and gendarme system in the Korean peninsula the German Machine! Foreigners—Consuls, business men, missionaries—are unanimous in their condemnation of the system which has ruled Korea since 1910. This system was learned from the Germans. While it may have been crushed in Belgium and Europe it still exists in Korea and Asia.

7. The tortures which the Koreans suffer at the hands of the police and gendarmes are identical with those employed in the famous conspiracy trials. I read affidavits, now on their way to the United States and British Governments, which made one's blood boil, so frightful were the means used in trying to extort confessions from prisoners. And many of these had no part in the demonstrations but were simply onlookers!

8. Missionaries have kept out of all connection with the revolution, but they think the psychological hour may come when their humanity may compel them and other foreigners to declare their attitude and protest against the terrorism which prevails. A meeting of all the foreigners in Seoul was called for March 19 to consider what they should do. The civil authorities (who should be differentiated from the military) called a few missionaries into conference on March 9th, and were told plainly how Japan had all along been alienating the Koreans and what reforms should be introduced. Mr. Usami stated that the Government intended to institute certain improvements.

9. It is too soon to predict what effect this outbreak will have on Christianity and on missionary effort. The officials are suspicious of the foreigners

and of the teaching of Christianity, especially by citizens of the democratic countries of the United States and of Great Britain. I was in Severance Medical College on the 17th, when it was searched by a corps of police. Nothing was found, of course, much to the chagrin and discomfiture of the Chief Procurator and his inspectors who were in charge. Foreigners' houses have probably been searched since then.

The probable outcome will not be independence, though the Koreans have succeeded in getting the question raised in the Peace Conference. There should be the granting of long-overdue and reasonable reform measures. The Koreans should have freedom of speech, press, assembly, petition and travel, all of which liberties—the common rights of all peoples—are denied them. They should have a share in the administration of their country. At present even a village headman must be a Japanese. Justice should be guaranteed. A Korean cannot get justice in a Japanese court if his opponent is a Japanese.

The Japanese should cease trying to Japanize the Koreans. The aim has been to blot out their nationality and language, make them Japanese and require them to learn and speak the Japanese tongue. Their 4200 years of history are ignored. Surely, also, the whole attitude of the Japanese Government, and the major portion of the Japanese people should change. The present policy exploits the country in order that Japan may be enriched and treats the people as an inferior race. Instead, the Japanese should develop the country for the mutual benefit of Koreans and Japanese, if not, indeed, for the sole benefit of Koreans, whose land it is. And they should regard the Koreans as equal to the Japanese. Otherwise the Japanese claim for the abolition of racial discrimination is pure hypocrisy."

Passive as they were in their method of protest against the Japanese rule, the demonstrators were dealt with utmost severity. The following is a description given by the Associated Press correspondents in Shanghai:

"In Seoul and Pyeng-Yang and other cities where foreigners resided the military abstained from firing on the crowds, but in the rural districts violence of the most terrible description has been practiced. Unresting crowds have been fired upon, scores of persons have been killed and hundreds wounded. Churches have been wrecked, private homes entered and young men and school girls, in particular, have been dragged off to prison where most of them have been flogged and a few held for trial.

Here in Pyeng-Yang five theological seminary students, men who had just arrived that morning, while quietly resting in their homes, were taken to the police station, and although protesting their innocence of plotting against the government, were given twenty-nine lashes applied at full strength.

Two girls were dragged by the hair from a house near the mission hospital, tied to a telegraph post by their hair, horribly beaten by a deputized fireman and then led off to jail.

One man sixty-five years old was caught by the soldiers and beaten and kicked until he could not walk. Then he was dragged off to jail. Before he had gone 400 yards another squad of soldiers repeated the performance, and at the jail, where the punishment was continued, the victim collapsed and was sent home in a "ricksha."

While the crowds were parading the streets the police and soldiers ran their weapons deliberately into unresisting bystanders because they happened to be in the way.

In front of the prefect's office one defenseless Korean was run down and killed by two firemen armed with pikes. The corpse was dragged along the ground and away by the slayers.



Old men, women and children have been indiscriminately abused, beaten, cut down with swords, struck by firemen armed with pikes, officials flogged at the police station, pierced by bayonets, and never a man has resisted the military. The passive revolt has been true to its name here.

Because we foreigners have seen all, we are not only persona non grata to the Japanese, but in real danger of our lives. It is reported that hired thugs are wandering about the city at night to waylay whom they may. It is becoming increasingly questionable whether we foreigners can remain here during the continuance of the trouble."

In some cases the Japanese soldiers burned villages and massacred the entire population. On April 17th, 1919, when a delegation of American Missionaries visited the Japanese Governor-General to protest in the name of humanity against the burning of villages and massacring of the inhabitants thereof, 45 miles southwest of Seoul, the Governor-General regretted the incident and assured the Missionaries that there would be no repetition of such occurrences.

The Koreans are not the only ones who suffer at the hands of the Japanese. The American missionaries, who are in no way connected with the revolutionary movement in Korea, have been subjected to insults and indignities by the Japanese soldiers and coolies. Severance Hospital, an American institution in Seoul, was searched by the Japanese to take Korean patients on the ground that they were Japanese subjects; American homes were searched by the police without warrant. According to Associated Press dispatches, which were confirmed later by a letter written by Miss Grace Billingham, an American missionary stationed in Pyang-Yang, Korea, to her friend, Mrs. Ivan L. Lomprey, of Flushing, N. Y., two American women, Mrs. Moore and Miss Trissel, were beaten by the Japanese soldiers for no other reason than they were sympathetic with the Koreans. The Japanese authorities charged American Missionaries as being connected with the revolutionary movement, and according to the Associated Press dispatch of May 18th, 1919, Rev. Eli M. Mowry, of Mansfield, Ohio, a Presbyterian missionary, was sentenced by the Japanese Appellate Court to serve four months' penal servitude for sheltering Korean agitators. Rev. Mr. Mowry appealed to the highest court under the contention that he was not aware that the Koreans he lodged in his home were wanted by the police.

Meanwhile, Japan has been rushing troops into Korea to crush the movement. The official explanation for sending soldiers into Korea was to suppress the spread of Bolshevism. It may be of interest to know the opinion of the *New York Sun* on this point: "The Japanese have made a display of frankness as to their repressive measures. This falls in with their laying the disturbances to Bolshevik propaganda. The trouble, even from here, may be seen really to partake more of nationalism than of class war. This being the case, the Japanese avowals of troops sent, or wholesale arrests, the stories permitted to come to us of wounded fugitives

taken from American Missionary hospitals, of American missionaries arrested on suspicion of aiding the rebels, all put Japan in a dubious light, for they proclaim the failure of her labors to domesticate the national spirit of the conquered land."\*

The Korean revolutionary movement is essentially a movement for political freedom and national independence, and it cannot be alleged to be connected with Bolshevism or any other radicalism of the age. The *New York Times*, which is very friendly to the Japanese and very conservative in tone, says editorially: "Koreans have been known as an excitable race; half a century ago mobs used to murder and torture missionaries and their converts and sailors shipwrecked on the coast. Nothing of that has been seen in the recent movement. Amazingly widespread, remarkably organized, it began as a movement of passive resistance and peaceful demonstrations, and seems to have remained so despite the harshness of repressive measures. Here and there, according to the Japanese papers, Japanese have been killed; but the long Korean casualty lists, admitted even by the Japanese, convey the impression that these were isolated outrages, balanced by something like massacres when troops or police dispersed the Korean crowds. The brutalities of some Japanese toward apparently harmless men and women, which have been attested by impartial witnesses, would have provoked most races to violence, but the Koreans seem to have kept their heads. It is not impossible for an entire people to change its nature under great pressure. The classic instance is the throwing off of the less practical qualities of the Slavonic nature by the Czechs, when they realized that it had to be done to shake off German rule, and all present evidence indicates that the Polish nation has learned a lesson which might have preserved its people if understood two centuries ago. If this can be done in Europe, it may in Asia; the present movement has shown the Koreans much more capable politically than the world had thought."

The Christian Science Monitor comments thus on the Korean situation: "As long as the Koreans submitted, all apparently went well. The outer world heard little about the situation, and Tokyo could send out as it did year by year, a veritable flood of illustrated literature showing the abounding prosperity of Chosen under Japanese rule. The moment, however, the Koreans sought to throw off the yoke a reign of terror ensued. Unresisting crowds were fired on and hundreds and thousands were killed or wounded; churches were wrecked; private houses entered and young men and women dragged off to prison and unmercifully flogged. This is only the mildest part of the story. There are many other shameful details and it all means, of course, that Japan has not begun to learn the lesson which the war has forced upon the rest of the world. Such methods are no longer possible and no matter how apparently powerful the nation that attempts to make use of them, they will sooner or later prove that nation's undoing."



The Koreans residing outside of Korea were unanimous in responding to the trumpet call sounded by their compatriots in Korea. The Korean students in Japan were arrested and convicted by the Japanese authorities for their revolutionary activities. The Korean volunteers who fought on the Russian side for the Allied cause during the first two years of the war were crossing the Tuman River into Korea, according to private information coming from the Far East, to fight for the freedom of their country. To combat this the Japanese have stationed 20,000 soldiers in Nanam, the strategic point in northern Korea. The Koreans in China presented petitions to the various foreign ministers in Peking, asking them to use their good offices with their respective governments on behalf of the struggle of the Korean people for independence. The Koreans in America have done, and are doing, their "bit." The Congress of the Korean race, composed of the delegates from Korean communities in America, Hawaii and Mexico, met in Philadelphia, Penna., April 14th-16th, 1919, and adopted the following resolutions, which have been widely distributed:

#### AN APPEAL TO AMERICA

We, the Koreans in Congress, assembled in Philadelphia, April 14-16, 1919, represented eighteen million people of our race who are now suffering untold miseries and barbarous treatment by the Japanese military authorities in Korea, hereby appeal to the great and generous American people.

For four thousand years our country enjoyed an absolute autonomy. We have our own history, our own language, our own literature and our own civilization. We have made treaties with the leading nations of the world; all of them recognized our independence, including Japan.

In 1904, at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, Japan made a treaty of alliance with Korea, guaranteeing territorial integrity and political independence of Korea, to co-operate in the war against Russia. Korea was opened to Japan for military purposes and Korea assisted Japan in many ways. After the war was over, Japan discarded the treaty of alliance as a "scrap of paper" and annexed Korea as a conquered territory. Ever since she has been ruling Korea with that autocratic militarism whose prototype has been well illustrated by Germany in Belgium and Northern France.

The Korean people patiently suffered under the iron heel of Japan for the last decade or more, but now they have reached the point where they are no longer able to endure it. On March 1st of this year some three million men, mostly of the educated class, composed of Christians, Heaven Worshipers, Confucians, Buddhists, students of mission schools, under the leadership of the pastors of the native Christian churches, declared their independence from Japan and formed a provisional government on the border of Manchuria. Through the news despatches and through private telegrams we are informed that 32,000 Korean revolutionists have been thrown into dungeons by the Japanese and over 100,000 men, women and children have been either killed or wounded so far. The Koreans have no weapons with which to fight, as the Japanese had taken away from them everything since the annexation, even pistols and fowling pieces. What resistance they are offering now against the Japanese soldiers and gendarmery is with pitchforks and sickles. In spite of this disadvantage and the horrible casualty among the Koreans, these people are keeping up their resistance

and this demonstration is now nation-wide, including nearly all provinces. Japan has declared martial law in Korea and is butchering by thousands these unfortunate but patriotic people every day.

The Koreans in the United States and Hawaii have sent their representatives to Philadelphia, the Cradle of Liberty, to formulate a concerted plan with a view to stop this inhuman treatment of their brethren by the "Asiatic Kaiser," and to devise ways and means to help along the great cause of freedom and justice for our native land.

We appeal to you for support and sympathy because we know you love justice; you also fought for liberty and democracy, and you stand for Christianity and humanity. Our cause is a just one before the laws of God and man. Our aim is freedom from militaristic autocracy; our object is democracy for Asia; our hope is universal Christianity. Therefore we feel that our appeal merits your consideration.

You have already championed the cause of the oppressed and held out your helping hand to the weak of the earth's races. Your nation is the Hope of Mankind, so we come to you.

Besides this, we also feel that we have the right to ask your help for the reason that the treaty between the United States and Korea contains a stipulation in article 1, paragraph 2, which states as follows:

"If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

Does not this agreement make it incumbent upon America to intercede now in Korea's behalf?

There are many other good and sufficient reasons for America to exert her good offices to bring about an amicable arrangement, but we mention only one more which is a new principle recently formulated at the peace conference in Paris. We cannot do better than to quote President Wilson's words, who is one of the founders of this new international obligation:

"The principle of the League of Nations is that it is the friendly right of every nation a member of the League to call attention to anything that she thinks will disturb the peace of the world, no matter where that thing is occurring. There is no subject that touches the peace of the world that is exempt from inquiry or discussion."

We, therefore, in the name of humanity, liberty and democracy and in the name of the American-Korean treaty and in the name of the peace of the world, ask the government of the United States to exert its good offices to save the lives of our freedom-loving brethren in Korea and to protect the American missionaries and their families who are in danger of losing their lives and property on account of their love for our people and their faith in Christ.

We further ask you, the great American public, to give us your moral and material help so that our brethren in Korea will know that your sympathy is with them and that you are truly the champions of liberty and international justice.

#### AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE KOREANS

(1) We believe in government, which derives its just power from the governed. Therefore, the government must be conducted for the interest of the people it governs.

(2) We propose to have a government modeled after that of America, as far as possible, consistent with the education of the masses. For the next decade it may be necessary to have more centralized power in the government; but as education of the people im-

proves and as they have more experience in the art of self-governing, they will be allowed to participate more universally in the governmental affairs.

(3) However, we propose to give universal franchise to elect local and provincial legislators, and the provincial legislators elect the representatives to the National Legislature. The National Legislators will have co-ordinate power with the Executive Branch of the Government, and they have sole power to make laws of the nation, and is solely responsible to the people whom they represent.

(4) The Executive Branch consists of President, Vice-President and Cabinet officers, who carry out all the laws made by the National Legislature. The President shall be elected by the Members of the National Legislature; and the President has the power to appoint the Cabinet Ministers, Governors of Provinces and other such important executive officials of the Government, including envoys to foreign countries. He has the power to make treaties with foreign powers, subject to the approval of the upper house of the National Legislature. The President and his cabinet are responsible to the National Legislature.

(5) We believe in freedom of religion. Any religion or doctrine shall be freely taught and preached within the country, provided such teaching does not conflict with the laws or the interest of the nation.

(6) We believe in free commerce with all nations of the world, affording the citizens and subjects of all treaty powers equal opportunity and protection for promoting commerce and industry between them and the Korean people.

(7) We believe in education of the people, which is more important than any other governmental activities.

(8) We believe in modern sanitary improvements under scientific supervision, as the health of the people is one of the primary considerations of those who govern.

(9) We believe in free speech and free press. In fact, we are in thorough accord with the principle of democracy, equal opportunity, sound economic policies, free intercourse with the nations of the world, making conditions of life of the entire people most favorable for unlimited development.

(10) We believe in liberty of action in all matters, provided such actions or utterances do not interfere with the rights of other people or conflict with the laws and interests of the nation.

Let us all pledge our solemn word to carry out these cardinal points to the best of our ability, as long as there is life remaining within us.

## TO THE THINKING PEOPLE OF JAPAN

It may be useless to give friendly advice, or to discuss the new principle of international morality with your militaristic statesmen or those who believe in autocratic government; but we know there are some Japanese who have been converted to true Western democratic ideals, and for those among you this message is intended.

Your country was the first nation in our part of the world which adopted Western methods in many lines of national endeavor, especially in military, naval and economic policies. Your nation has become strong and prosperous under these reform movements and is now the leading nation in Eastern Asia. Your improvement in military establishments was necessary for self-defense, but later your government adopted the Prussian methods and used this force, instead of self-defense, for the purpose of aggrandizement and selfish greed. This was particularly the case with your government policy toward Korea after the Russo-Japanese

war. When you declared the war against Russia in 1904 we believed then that you were acting for the safety of your country and the peace of the Orient. Many of our people sympathized with you and assisted you in many ways in that war. Our country was open to your military forces, and you used it as a base of operation against imperialistic Russia.

At the beginning of this war you assured our government that you would not violate our territorial integrity or political independence. Our country and yours went into this conflict as allies and partners in the enterprise. When the war was over your government, at the point of the sword, established a protectorate over Korea, declaring that our independence would be restored to us when our people became firmly established as a self-governing nation. This was a blow to us all, and we felt the injustice of your action; but still worse, later on by force and despicable trickery your government snatched away not only our sovereignty, but annexed the entire country as a conquered territory. There is no other name for such an action except to call it highway robbery.

Let us briefly go over what your high-handed statesmen have done in Korea since the annexation. Did any of your rulers ever try to win the hearts of the Korean people by uplifting them to a higher level of civilization through liberal education and economic advancement? No. On the contrary, your government has done everything in its power to reduce our people to a level of slavery. You limited their educational opportunities, placed every means of hindrance in their way to economic improvement. Your whole policy has been that of oppression and repression for the temporary benefit of your own nationals. Your rulers think that you can destroy the spirit, the life, the body and the soul of our people by these barbarous policies, but they are mistaken. The Korean people may appear to you an easy victim to your greedy eye, but let us inform you now, once for all, there are millions of young Koreans today, both in and out of Korea, who are just as capable, intelligent and courageous as any race of man in this world. This assertion is not made in the spirit of bravado, but is founded upon systematic investigation and thorough test. Whenever opportunities have been given they demonstrated their true qualities to the surprise and admiration of their enemies as well as friends. What little opportunity they have had was in foreign countries, but if the same freedom were allowed them in their native soil they would certainly show some wonderful results in all lines of human activity. Your government has denied them this opportunity for development. Is it right? Is it fair? Is it humane?

Before the world war Germany and Russia and some other powers in Europe cherished the fallacious thought that might makes right and the strong should live at the expense of the weak. But they are now reduced to impotent political units, and all their greedy dreams have been shattered to pieces beyond all repair.

Your government has been and still is entertaining the same erroneous idea and the same greedy ambition as those cherished by the European autocracies now destroyed and gone. If your people are intelligent and wise, as we think they are, you should make effort to change this policy and at once adopt the higher, the nobler and the happier principle of true democracy for your government. If you continue to carry on your present selfish policy of the Prussian type, your country will meet the same fate that your prototype in Europe has encountered.

First, you must right the wrong you have done to Korea. Give her absolute freedom, keep your hands from the politics of the peninsula. You will find that Korea will develop into a peaceful, democratic and industrial nation, which will be absolutely neutral in her foreign policies, will be a buffer between your country, China and Russia. The interest of your country requires a friendly buffer state in this region instead of a



territory inhabited by sullen, resentful people, in whose hearts hatred for you and your government will always exist as long as you try to govern them by force, cruelty and injustice. The time may come in the very near future when you will need the good will of the Korean people. Even now it is within your power to atone for your past sins against Korea and make her your ally and good friend. The same just and generous policy should be adopted toward China. By so doing, your people will not sacrifice your economic interest in the Orient, and at the same time you will be living among friendly neighbors. As it is, you have no friend. Korea hates you, China dislikes you just as much as does Korea. Russia has no friendly sentiment for you; even America is watching you with suspicion and distrust. Your alliance with England will not avail you much in case you should be involved in a conflict with any first-class power, especially with America.

Therefore, for your future safety and for your prestige as the leading nation of the Orient, you should embrace at once the new principle of international justice and true democratic spirit that righteous government should derive its just power from the governed. This is the only way your country will continue to

be strong and prosperous and maintain the prestige that you now enjoy. Above all, there will be permanent peace in the Orient, so that all Oriental peoples will live and develop to their highest capacity. If temporary gains and petty advantages blind your statesmen to these eternal truths set forth above, all we can say is God help the Japanese people.

MEMBERS OF KOREAN CONGRESS.

Held in April 14-16, 1919, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.

## CONCLUSION

The aspirations of the Korean people may be summarized as follows: They want the political independence of their country so that they may enjoy:

1. Freedom of speech.
2. Freedom of worship.
3. Freedom from alien economic exploitation.
4. Unhampered social and educational development.







